NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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Spring shuffles bleakly into Washington

You'd look like Sen. Knowland and Rep. Martin too if you went through a week like last week. Are you sitting down? Well, it went something like this: Sen. George (D-Ga.) proposed a Four Power high level talk. Secy. Dulles went to the White House and emerged saying the President liked George's idea. Then the two gloom-chasers above went to see the President and announced that Dulles' comment did not reflect the White House view at all. Then White House press secy. Hagerty issued a bulletin declaring that the President agreed with everybody. Finally, with everyone reeling, the President at his press conference said what he meant was that he thought a low-level parley was OK, but the higher level should await German rearmament. Really nothing much was at stake in the whole thing—only the survival of the human race.

BROWNELL ON MATUSOW TURNABOUT

Justice Dept. line: 'Reds' plot to wreck witch-hunt

AFTER WEEKS of paralyzing dismay at its whirligig witnesses, the Justice Dept. by March 21 had finally firmed up its official stand. **Labor's Daily** reported it this way:

"The Justice Dept.'s 'party line' in the case of professional false witness Harvey Matusow was officially down in black and white today—Matusow is a Red wrecker of government prosecutions."

This thesis had earlier been advanced by William F. Tompkins, chief of the Dept.'s internal security division, but Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell Jr. himself put the government's seal on it in a speech before the Greater Boston Chamber of Commerce. Matusow, he said, is a focal point of a Communist campaign to destroy the informant system of the FBI.

THE TEXAS JUDGE: But Brownell didn't reach this conclusion independently; he leaned exclusively on an opinion given by Federal Judge R. E. Thomason in El Paso, Tex., who on March 16 sentenced Matusow to three years in prison for criminal contempt of court. Matusow in a six-day hearing before Thomason swore under oath that in 1953 he had given false testimony against Clinton Jencks, an officer of the independent Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union. Brownell quoted the Judge:

"It is my firm conviction that this hearing was deliberately brought on for the purpose of attacking the

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IS THE COALITION CRACKING?

Cadillac crusade killing modest tax-relief plan for low-income families

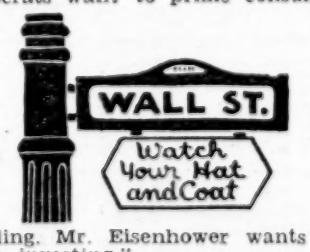
By Lawrence Emery

"SOAK THE POOR" advocates were winning out last week as the current battle over taxation came to a head in Congress. As House and Senate conferees were scheduled to meet March 23 to reconcile differences between two tax bills, key House Democrats were already conceding defeat in their big battle to cut income taxes by $20 a head beginning Jan. 1.

The fight while it lasted kicked up some harsh words and frayed many a temper; to the **Magazine of Wall St.** it seemed "to be a sign that on questions of domestic policy the coalition of Republican and Democratic members of Congress is about to come apart at the seams."

The Eisenhower Administration is dedicated to old-fashioned Republican tax theories which in the past have contributed to economic catastrophe in the U.S. The belief is that easy taxes for big business and rich individuals induce economic expansion at the top with eventual indirect benefit to low-income families at the bottom. The opposite belief holds that easy taxes on low incomes put more money into circulation, help the entire economy. A business magazine recently simplified it:

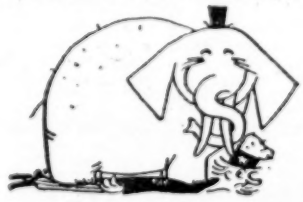
"Bluntly put, the issue is this: Democrats want to prime consumer



spending. Mr. Eisenhower wants to prime investing."

BILLIONS FOR THE RICH: In 1953 the Eisenhower Administration allowed the excess profits tax to expire. The following year, with sales down, GM profits went up 35%; GE 30%; DuPont almost 50%; Douglas Aircraft about 95%. During the same period unemployment increased. Last year the Administration again cut taxes for the rich for a total of $7,400,000,000, including $300,000,000 relief to stockholders on their dividend incomes. There was no relief for lower-income brackets, no discernible improvement in the unemployment picture.

This year Eisenhower asked only for



a year's extension of current corporation and excise taxes, both scheduled to be reduced automatically on April 1. To this bill House Speaker Sam Rayburn (D-Tex.) attached an amendment for a straight income tax cut of $20 for every taxpayer and each of his dependents. For a family of five it would mean an annual saving of $100, or a little less than $2 a week.

"THE LITTLE FOLKS": To Eisenhower this was "some kind of height in fiscal irresponsibility." To the N.Y. **Times** it was "thoroughly bad," a "dangerous political issue" and "a blatant effort to purchase the political goodwill of the estimated 5,000,000 persons whom it would remove altogether from the Federal income tax rolls." Treasury Secy. George M. Humphrey denounced it as "just the wrong thing for the little folks." Most alarmed was right-wing columnist David Lawrence; he saw it as "the collapse of the private enterprise system in America," called it a "$20 bribe plan."

During the House debate Rayburn got fighting mad and was likely to stay

(Continued on Page 9)

the SPECTATOR

Roosevelt at Yalta

THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY of the death of the most popular President in American memory, Franklin D. Roosevelt, is just two weeks away. To celebrate the occasion, the gentlemen with the solid uranium brains who in this decade have seized control of our government and some 99% of our media of information and innuendo—hereinafter referred to as Them—are outdoing all previous offensives to prove that he was a traitor, or an idiot, or both.

As to whether it was a bright idea, all the angles considered, to publish the State Dept.'s 200,000-world records of the Yalta conference of February, 1945, there is some difference of opinion among Them. The difference springs largely from lack of understanding of how today's streamlined brainwash system works. The top experts like the publishers of the N.Y. **Times** know very well that almost nobody has time to read 200,000 words; and consequently that—while publication of them is a fabulous newspapering feat and an apparent display of objectivity toward history—what is actually in the records matters little.

"LOOT AND ENSLAVEMENT:" The brainwash is performed by what the information media **tell** us the records contain, in the digestible digests of their contents and in editorial asides. Thus, in the bits people have time to read, the **Times** laments that FDR's "failing health was apparently having its effect at Yalta" and so Stalin "appeared to emerge with loot beyond his wildest dreams." To be "fair" to FDR the **Times** adds that he had to pay a price "to keep Stalin from making a separate peace with Hitler" (which there is not the slightest indication Stalin ever thought of doing).

The Cleveland **Plain Dealer** "excuses" FDR on the ground that he was "apparently ignorant of the Communists' methods" (as if FDR had not had a dozen years as President to study those "methods," or they had suddenly changed). FDR's former commander in the anti-fascist war, Eisenhower, told us three years ago, in his pledge to repudiate Yalta, that the conference "resulted in the enslavement of Poland" (a less enslaved country than Poland today, or a more enslaved one before the war, could scarcely be imagined).

HARRIMAN AND HISS: Because you read the GUARDIAN, you will get a reasonably fair analysis of these fascinating

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THIS ISSUE

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A letter from Anna Louise Strong

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

For six years the injustice done to me by Moscow was a rock that split the progressive movement. It confirmed some as dogmatists, others as cynics. It raised doubts not only of me, but doubts of Moscow, doubts of other comrades. It hurt incalculably the unity of the cause we all love. And there was little I could do about it, except try to keep my own mind active.

But now as one group sends me letters of exultation, too often an angry exultation mixed with how others "must eat their words now," "must have red faces" . . . while the other group, which has always been the most devoted and hardest-pressed of them all, tries to adjust to this new fact and wonders what to do about me now. . . it seems to me that if we can just give the right word at the right time in the right tone, there is a chance to come through to a wider unity than there ever was before. A unity that avoids both dogmatism and cynicism, that accepts both that "Moscow can make grievous mistakes" and that "Moscow seeks justice and corrects mistakes when found."

And if the progressive leadership of all varieties can move toward a unity that expels and excludes NOBODY except those who are enemies on the most BASIC THINGS . . . then it must next be clearly determined just WHAT, in our day and land, these basic things are. I submit they are only two: "Peace through mutual understanding with the socialist world," and "widest freedom throughout America in thought and word." Every person who stands in this platform should be encouraged to express with widest latitude his individual creative thought, corrected only by discussion and not by discipline. If the progressive leadership can somehow build such a unity, then we may get that long-delayed breakthrough to connect these leaders with the American people's deep desire for freedom and peace.

I submit that all those who still remain actively in the progressive movement are pretty good people, relatively courageous, relatively devoted above most . . . since they have conquered their own fears of what is a very concerted and well-backed drive to smash all progressive thought in this land. And that this long, deep split over the Anna Louise Strong case has only advantaged those powers that drive incessantly toward building a police state in our land. And that ALL progressives need, not to eat humble pie and belabor themselves over past blunders—except as this is done in their own thought as incident to a wider thinking. They need rather to be stimulated to do their own thinking, which is the hardest thing men can do, and especially hard for us non-theoretical Americans.

Now as one of the thoughts with which I start this thinking, I give you this: that however much any person may admire Lenin or Stalin or Mao or Roosevelt, and try to learn from their thinking, he should at the same time realize that there is a field of thought and action in which HE HIMSELF knows more than Lenin or Stalin or Mao or Roosevelt . . and this field is the life immediately around him. And if Lenin or Mao or any of these others could be suddenly transferred to live and work in Podunk, they would first have to learn what Jimmie Jones knows about Podunk before they could correctly act.

This realization is the basis for the statement that "people are our most valuable capital"; it is the basis for whatever may be called "democratic centralism" . . . too often honored in word and violated in act.

The chief mistake made by those progressives who felt it necessary all these six years to boycott me, was that they rejected their own experience of 30 years of the American progressive movement, in face of a single charge by a foreign police organ whose information they had no way to check. In doing this they belittled their own experience of 30 years, their own American leadership . . . and their own ability to use without being contaminated a person who was under suspicion but who was yet willing to work for peace.

We must all face the fact that we shall be working all our lives in a movement that contains not only people under suspicion, but a lot of actual undercover agents of the FBI. We must work out techniques for acting even under this difficulty without rejecting any help that is offered in our fight for peace. I think such techniques can be worked out.

Anna Louise Strong

THE MAIL BAG

Stop the bomb tests!

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Copy of a letter sent to President Eisenhower, Sens. Knowland and Kuchel, and Rep. Joseph Holt:

As citizens and as parents of small children, we plead, we urge and we demand that you stop all nuclear tests now.

The newspapers make it clear that to the scientists and officials of the AEC there are many unknown aspects of the effect on human life of radioactive fallout. We read that the AEC waits for "safe" weather conditions before exploding a bomb. After the March 7 blast, the wind shifted, carrying the radioactive cloud over unpredicted areas.

The world's foremost geneticists quietly and steadily give their opinion that nuclear releases are surely damaging the germ lines of all forms of life on the globe. That our government should half-blindly experiment with these terrifying effects upon human life is unspeakable. For one more human being to suffer the fate of the Japanese fisherman would be barbaric. Further nuclear tests would inescapably make America the most hated nation in all history.

We charge that if the American people knew the full effects of nuclear tests, they would rise in their might and stop them.

The lesson of history is ineluctable: preparing for war leads to war, not peace. Atomic war is not inevitable. The only possible way to achieve peace is with the means of peace: negotiation.

We call upon you to take the initiative for peace by forsaking the means of war and settling all international questions at the United Nations' negotiating tables.

John Bovingdon
William S. Crosby
Jacqueline B. Hare
Russell I. Hare Jr.
Joyce P. Murphy
Rev. Amos C. B. Murphy

Shame of N. Y.

NEW YORK, N. Y.

The New York City Board of Education has just completely disgraced itself by passing a resolution forcing teachers to inform on past associates, on pain of losing their jobs. Only one dissenting vote, that of the courageous new Board member, Mrs. Sands, was cast against this ruling making an informer, censor and snooper of every teacher willing to lend himself or herself to this modern Spanish Inquisition.

In addition, it may force teachers otherwise unwilling, but fearful of loss of employment, to violate every principle of conscience and decency. Imagine the effect on our children of this type of teaching staff.

This noxious wave of anti-intellectualism can only produce students unable or fearful of thinking for themselves. This is freedom of thought, New York City style. People should ponder carefully what and who are behind this latest move toward rigid conformity.

A Teacher

How crazy can you get dept.

C. B. De Mille is listening to taped speeches by Gen. Van Fleet with a view toward using Van Fleet as the voice of God in Paramount's "Ten Commandments."

—Newsweek, March 14.

One-year free sub to sender of each item published under this heading. Above was sent by Anon., N. Y. C.

Statesman's schedule

CLEVELAND, O.

Monday: Went out and slandered the dead.
Tuesday: I called for total war.
Wednesday: Told people to eat less bread.
Thursday: Burned two hundred books or more.
Friday: Scared a teacher right out of his head.
Saturday: Stashed income (far from the red).
Sunday: Drew up a bill around four
To smother a lamp by the golden door.

Adelaide Simon

First grade problem

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

Attention, boys and girls of the first grade arithmetic class—figure out this problem:

Quemoy and the Matsus lie 5 and 20 miles, espectively, off the coast of China. Within bombing range, but about 150 miles away from Formosa. To whose security are they essential?

When you have the answer to that one, figure out how many lives of American boys you want sacrificed to keep Quemoy and the Matsus for Formosa.

Next figure out how many American boys will die in the resulting war with China which, according to Sen. Wayne Morse, "would mean . . . American foot soldiers . . . years of guerrilla warfare . . . not going to end . . . in 10 years."

Are your answers ready, children? Now write them on a postcard and send to President Eisenhower. Do it today.

Florence H. Luscomb

Nothing under "M"

BERLIN, GERMANY

I wish the U.S. people further success in their efforts to secure peace, and mainly I wish Cedric Belfrage victory over the un-Americans in Washington.

May the U.S. people wake up. Gen. MacArthur woke up. Is he a new reader of the GUARDIAN?

Henry Nawrocki

Drawing by Dyad, London

"I told you not to overwind it."

Read and retch

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Just a few nauseating items about a rotten political corpse, Chiang Kai-shek:

"Mme. Wellington Koo, wife of the Nationalist Ambassador, has a noted collection of jewels." (Robert S. Allen in the N. Y. Post, 3.6).

"While what is left of Chiang's army is rusting in Formosa, the China Lobby's operators are employing all their mental and financial resources in the U.S. Christian Frontier William J. Goodwin began giving dinners at the Mayflower for Congressmen at which they could hear the opinions of Ambassador Koo and Counselor Chen. . . . Among the guests at his dinners were Senators Bridges, Knowland, Wherry and McCarran." (The Reporter, 4.15.52).

A. Garcia Diaz

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Greet Vincent Hallinan at the Guardian rally—N. Y. City Center Casino Wed. eve, Apr. 20.

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REPORT TO READERS

Sir, or Madam, please look at your mail

FRANKLY, SIR (or Madam, as the case may be), the GUARDIAN needs more money—and the way we seek most ardently to get it is through new subscribers and renewals.

For these reasons there is almost certainly a letter from us in your mailbox now (if you haven't already received it) to which we earnestly await your answer.

One type of letter we sent out this past week was a straight renewal letter to all those in arrears. This is a simple, uncomplicated bill form for your $3 renewal if due. Please do it now!

COMPLICATIONS have set in, however, over another letter we sent out some ten days ago to all paid-up subscribers except our "Buck of the Month" pledgers. Even so penetrating a fellow as Howard Fast was still puzzling over it when we encountered him the other evening at a United Nations soiree. He offered to compromise by sending us the $5 hinted at in our letter, accepting the premium offered (the Harvey Matusow recantation book, **False Witness**, because of his fascination with reptiles) and keeping the rest of the letter's contents for further study.

Unerringly, Mr. Fast hit upon the perfect response from our point of view, but perhaps we had better explain further:

THE LETTER IN QUESTION contains five "Prepaid" certificates, each worth $1 (if paid for!) in GUARDIAN subscriptions (there's a sub blank on the back). These were designed (rather handsomely, we thought) to overcome the problem that (a) you never seem to have a sub blank handy when you meet a potential new GUARDIAN subscriber; or (b) you just can't think of a new prospect at the same moment that you are confronted with the introductory sub blank which appears weekly on this page. So (we figured) let's send out five "Prepaid" sub blanks to the folks, ask them to pay for them now and keep them in pockets or purses to sign up readers as you encounter them. You can send the new subs as gifts, or you can collect the buck from the recipient—that's up to you.

By paying for the five certificates in advance, you help us now; by signing up new readers later with the prepaid sub blanks, you help spread the GUARDIAN among your friends.

WHERE WE MAY have confused matters was in suggesting further that you could use three of the "Prepaid" certificates at any time to renew your own sub when due; and on top of that (so as not to expend postage, etc., on another letter) we suggested in a P.S. that you might be interested in our Buying Service's latest find: a line of brass-bound wrought iron tray tables (leaflet enclosed) which could be just the ticket if you're sprucing the house up for Spring.

No, the wrought iron table does not come free with a new sub. No, the book doesn't come free with the brass-bound P.S.

Yes, we do need the five dollars—and the new readers!

—THE EDITORS

P.S.: Our FDR Memorial record, "The Unforgotten Man," is now in the final stage. It's the greatest, and will be in the mails to advance purchasers on or about April 1. After that the price becomes $3.95 in the stores and bookshops (see ad, p. 4).

News is breaking fast these days!

SIGN UP A NEW READER TODAY — $1 FOR 26 WEEKS

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Enclose with $1 for 6 months to: CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT 17 MURRAY ST., N. Y. C. 7

So you think a letter to your Congressman won't help . . . .

The second (March) issue of Washington & You, a Political Action Newsletter *edited by Progressive Party secy. C. B. Baldwin appeared last week. With exceptional contacts in Washington, Baldwin is undertaking through the newsletter to keep progressives aware of hot legislative issues, what they mean, who are the key Congressmen involved and what you can do about them. The March issue contains an analysis of the "trickle down vs. trickle up" theories of economic legislation in connection with the move for $20 income tax deductions, and vital material on ways to fight against Walter-McCarran, UMT and German rearmament and for FEPC. Subscription to* Washington & You *is $2 a year (1133 Broadway, N. Y. C. 10). The following admirable article is from the newsletter's first issue.*

By C. B. Baldwin

IT IS not infrequent that when a person is asked to write a letter to his Congressman, urging this or that, his reply will be, "Oh, what's the use."

It seems to me that this attitude cannot be squared with the realities of American politics. First, our system of Congressional representation has demonstrated that it can work in the people's interest—witness the New Deal period. Second, anyone who thinks that this or the immediate succeeding Congresses are going to be dominated by people's statesmen like Black, LaGuardia, Marcantonio, Norris or Wagner is just engaged in wishful thinking. Third, the present Congress has a good number of honest, liberal-minded members in both Houses. I know many of them personally and there is no doubt in my mind of their integrity, liberalism or devotion to people's interests—as opposed to representatives of Big Business and reaction.

A CONGRESSMAN does not work in a vacuum. The best of our Representatives are subject to many cross-currents of pressures. None of them fails to get pressure from Chambers of Commerce, Big Business lobbies, veterans' groups, etc. Is it reasonable to expect that an honest Congressman will consistently vote contrary to the consensus of pressures? I have yet to meet a Congressman who does not enjoy the responsibilities and prestige of his position and who does not look forward to being re-elected. The practical effect then of failing to organize letter-writing and visits to Congressmen, as well as other forms of political action, is to leave the field of political battle clear for reactionary pressures alone.

This is a serious dereliction of democracy. Without the visible demonstration of the wishes of his progressive constituents, a member of Congress can rarely be expected in this climate to stick out his political neck. He needs, and in a large number of cases wants, a demonstration of support for a progressive vote. The simplest, most direct and most economical form of that demonstration is a letter. Don't let anybody tell you it's a waste of time—that your letter is ignored. Time and again I have observed mail from citizens being read, analyzed and sorted on both sides of an issue.

WRITE your letters with propriety. Express them so that they call for a reply. Where you think it's worthwhile, ask him whether the letter can be inserted in the Congressional Record.

Writing your Congressman is one of the most important and useful forms of political action in our democracy. Develop the habit!

HOW SOCIAL SECURITY WORKS

One-twelfth of a nation — over 65

By Ione Kramer

OF every 12 persons in the U. S. today, one is over 65 years old; by 1980 the ratio will be one in seven. In a society increasingly putting the accent on youth, these figures and the already sad plight of over 65's are cause for serious thinking by Americans approaching the retirement years.

The present condition of the 14,000,000 "senior citizens" of the world's richest nation is summed up in the fact that two-thirds of them have incomes below $1,000 a year.

Results: for many the two-meal-a-day plan ("late breakfast and an early dinner") and, as one elderly lady told a Social Security representative, "a piece of hard candy to take away the appetite"; denial of glasses, medical and dental treatment so necessary in old age; strained family relationships where an elderly person feels a burden on a relative whose hands and home are already full with his own growing family; or the lonely living in sparsely furnished cellars, or in attics where the rent is lower but the climb harder on the heart. A survey by the N. Y. State Joint Legislative Committee on Problems of the Aging called housing for the state's aged

". . . an affront to human dignity. What our 'low income families' do not want for shelter, the indigent aged get. The oldest, the worst, the most decrepit."

FAR TOO LITTLE: Half of the over-65's who have no other means of support depend on either Social Security (Old Age and Survivors Insurance) or Old Age Assistance payments, which are joint federal-state relief based on a means test. A third (6½ million) of all persons over 65 receive OASI benefits, 19% depend on OAA, 30% on their own earnings after 65, and a few on private pensions and insurance.

In nearly all cases, benefits are far below the Bureau of Labor Statistics' "modest but adequate" budget for an elderly couple — between $1,062 and $1,908 a year in various parts of the country. Last June OASI payments averaged $43 a month ($516 a year) and OAA, $51.54 ($618.48).

SOCIAL SECURITY: Under Federally-sponsored OASI since 1937, workers pay a percentage of their earnings (2% at present) into the fund, employers match it, and the workers at 65 collect $30 to $108 a month, according to what they earned. Before changes in the law went into effect last September, the average payment was about $26 a month for a single worker, $40 with one dependent. September's increases may raise average monthly payments to about $33 and $46; a worker earning $50 a week before retirement may draw $32.50 a month if single, $48.80 if married.

For 500,000 whose Social Security payments are so low that they must be supplemented by OAA grants, September's increases were no help at all. If a person's OASI payments went up $5, local OAA administrators immediately cut that much from his OAA grant, leaving him as poor as before.

Interlandi in Des Moines Register
"I'd like some now. . . !"

Because they earned less when they worked, or as widows get ¾ of their husband's payments, women's benefits average 10% less than men's. The AFL, CIO and the former Social Security commissioner recommended that women become eligible for OASI and OAA at 60, since many employers won't hire even women over 45—but Congress didn't agree. Rep. James Roosevelt (D-Calif.) has introduced such a bill into the present Congress. Last month the Massachusetts legislature petitioned Congress to lower to 60 the retirement age for all under OAA and OASI.

TOO LATE TO QUALIFY: Last year Congress instructed Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby as Health, Education & Welfare Secy. to study a raise in minimum OASI benefits to $55, $60 or $75. She hasn't reported yet, but many fear that unless unions and other groups speak up she will take the line of Herbert Hoover's investigating commission: that OASI payments are not required to be adequate support, but "bare subsistence."

A major objection to the Social Security system has been that many who needed it most were not covered. The new law added 10 million farm workers and operators, domestic workers and some self-employed, who began payments into the fund this January. In about a year and a half they will be eligible to collect upon retirement, if they have had steady work to earn the needed six quarter-years of coverage. But the closer a worker gets to 65, the harder it is to find or keep a job. Over 11 million workers, nearly 6 million of them transients or earning too little to qualify, will still not be eligible upon retirement.

Last year's changes will be a great help in the future to five out of six people now holding jobs. But they will not extend coverage to many of the 7.3 million oldsters who are now retired and unable to collect Social Security because they didn't qualify. For them, if they are willing to take what amounts to a pauper's oath, there are Old Age Assistance payments.

(Next week: the inadequacies of OAA and private pension plans.)

New York World-Telegram and The Sun

7TH SPORTS FINAL
Bid and Asked Prices LATEST RACING

FIVE CENTS

ASIA WAR FEARED IN WEEKS

U.S. Military Warns of Red Attack

Installment Gouges Lurk In Insurance

Judge Harlan OK'd By Senate Group
Parties Even On 10-4 Vote

Stocks Rally At End After A Trying Day

Gun-Hungry Red China Army Becoming Largest in World
Air Force Has 1000 Jets

Report Yanks Ready to Use Atom Weapons

Sense and nonsense about co-existence

"When Sens. Knowland and Jenner proclaim that peaceful co-existence between the U. S. and Russia is impossible, they are announcing two fallacious conclusions at one and the same time.

"The first is that since the U. S. and Russia cannot peacefully co-exist, therefore either the U. S. must knock Russia out of existence or Russia must knock the U. S. out of existence. Such an opinion is grotesque. It is unworthy of men elevated to positions of national leadership. They ought not to be Senators if they do not know anything about history. . . . No nation has ever . . . abolished war by more war. . . .

"The second . . . is that Russia and the U. S. cannot enjoy peaceful co-existence. This is arrant nonsense. . . . Time was when it was thought that Judaism and Christianity could not peacefully get along together. Their present peaceful co-existence gives the lie to that. Time was in the period of the Inquisition that it was believed Protestantism and Roman Catholicism could not get along together. . . . It is not necessary for all persons to think the same in order to get along together."

—Boston Univ. Chancellor Daniel L. Marsh, in a recent address to Rotarians.

NAACP GOAL

End jimcrow schools by September '55

AN NAACP Southwide conference in Atlanta declared that complete abolition of the jimcrow public school by September is still the main task. School boards and officials "will be continually pressured by NAACP units to complete integration by that date" and locals will

". . . work with school boards and state governments which are acting in good faith to change their educational systems in compliance with the Supreme Court's [May 17, '54, anti-jimcrow school] decision."

The conference pledged NAACP members in all localities to "protect Negro teachers already employed as well as future teachers"; to oppose any program designed to frighten them or principals.

IT'S INEVITABLE: Integration of Negro and white children into a common school system throughout the U. S. "is inevitable and should be accepted now," McKinley High School (D. C.) principal Charles E. Bish told 200 white and Negro school heads at the 39th annual Secondary Schools Principals' convention, Atlantic City, last month. His was the first of the formerly all-white D. C. schools last September to receive Negro pupils, 450 entering.

A concurring Negro principal suggested that they all "get together in various communities and discuss the matter" of setting the stage "to put integration into operation."

Montgomery police arrested, handcuffed and jailed 15-year-old high school student Claudette Colvin—who evidently believed in the U. S. Supreme Court's integration decision—because she "became hysterical and scratched and kicked and screamed" (UP, 3/18) when they removed her from a city bus for refusing to be jimcrowed to the rear. Prosecutor William Thetford, sworn upholder of Federal as well as Alabama law, opposed dismissal of charges against Miss Colvin, granting that she might be stigmatized. Whether the laws were right or wrong, he insisted, "they must be obeyed."

The Supreme Court announced last week that it would begin hearings April 11 on ways to enforce its decision that segregated schools are unconstitutional.

TWO MOVING APPEALS FROM GREECE AND SPAIN

Torture chambers of the 'Free World'

FROM the jails of two "free world" countries where physical violence and death are standardized government procedures against militant opposition, the GUARDIAN received last week moving appeals to Americans from victims now in mortal danger.

From a jail in Greece, ten victims wrote a five-page longhand appeal in French in behalf of nearly 80 citizens of Athens, Piraeus and Thessaly who were arrested last summer under a decree imposed by the fascist Metaxas government in 1936, which makes them subject to the death penalty. They are accused of "espionage," a crime for which the government has offered no specific charges. The appeal that the arrested men—students, civil servants, trade unionists, lawyers, professors, doctors etc., most of whom were leading resistance fighters in World War II—include:

THEODORE VLAMOPOULOS, 80-year-old ex-Deputy (1951), who was interned in an Italian prison camp throughout the war; DEMETRIOS DALLAS, arrested by Metaxas, jailed by him for four years and then turned over to the Italians; KYRAKOS TZANERIS, arrested and exiled by Metaxas; STAVROS KARAS and GASTON VERNARDIS, confined in concentration camps by the Nazis; VARDIS VARDINOYANNIS, arrested and condemned to death by the Nazis; COSTAS FILIS, arrested and tortured by the Nazis.

THEY FOUGHT THE NAZIS: "We stand accused of 'espionage,'" the appeal says, but

". . . what emerges from our record is that all of us have been militant defenders of national independence, democracy and peace. This is precisely why the government is determined to exterminate us. . . .

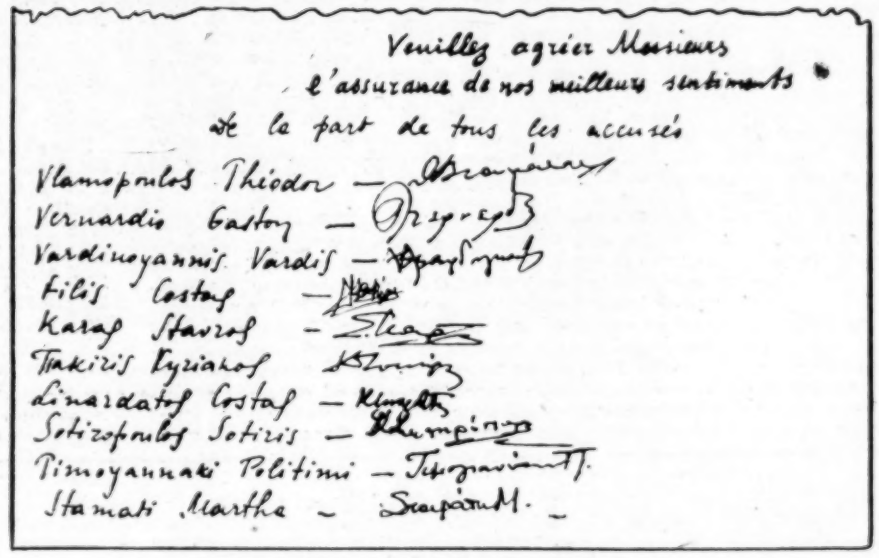
"The Prime Minister, Papagos, had unconcealed admiration for the fascist dictator Metaxas. His government was responsible for the shameful agreement of Oct. 12, 1953, which surrendered our country to the American imperialists. Nearly all the members of his government participated in the relentless struggle the reactionary forces waged against the national liberation movement. Vice Minister of Communications Guerakinis was one of those who commanded a detachment of 'Greek' mercenaries during the German occupation. The crimes committed by this Nazi-armed detachment are well known. . . .

"The collaborators have all been freed and are in high government posts. Our accusers are the very ones who granted them amnesty and set the war criminals free, even the Nazi hangman called Andre. . . .

"From 1946 to 1949 nearly 5 000 Greek patriots were executed by special military tribunals. Tens of thousands were interned in prisons and concentration camps, thousands more subjected to unimaginable tortures from which many died. Today, five years after the end of the civil war, the government, following the orders of the American colonizers, continues its persecution of those who fight for peace. They seek thus to abort the popular demand for national conciliation and democratic changes. . . They charge us with 'espionage' hoping thus to deceive the Greek people and international public opinion. . . .

"Listen to our voices you who are in a distant land. Help us make known everywhere the infamy of the makers of war in Greece. Help us prevent this new crime that the government plans to perpetrate against us. Help us in our fight to abolish unconstitutional laws which prohibit democratic organizations and parties from functioning legally, and help us to win general amnesty. There must be an end to the bloodshed of Greek patriots. Help our martyred people."

The signers of the appeal ask Americans to broadcast it through their organizations, bring it to the attention of Washington and the UN, and send an American lawyer to participate in their defense.



WRITTEN IN THE HEART'S BLOOD
Signatures on the Greek petition for life

POWER OF PROTEST: From America's ally, Spain, came an appeal for help from enemies of dictator Franco who participated with Gregorio Lopez Raimundo (now in Mexico) in organizing the great Barcelona strike of spring, 1951. The Spaniards' appeal stressed the effectiveness of world protest in mitigating the sentences of 27 strike leaders who were finally brought to trial, after frightful tortures in jail where they were "treated as condemned before even being tried":

"The campaign did not cease with the trial. Raimundo has emphasized that he owes not only his life but also his release last June to the continued battering at the Franco authorities by people the world over. 'When we learned in prison,' he said, 'that students were demonstrating for our liberty in Venezuela and Burma, that young people had been arrested in Rome for openly expressing their solidarity with us, the difficulties lost their reality and we were more than ever strengthened in our resolve to continue the fight against fascism.'"

SPAIN, 1955: The appeal continued:

"Franco's prisons are still full of Spanish patriots . . . the people who fought for Madrid with their bare fists, the people who today carry on the free tradition of the Spanish people. Thousands more are kept in cells for weeks and months without ever coming to trial. . . . The young United Socialist Wilson Battle, who lost his reason in 1947 on account of police torture, has, thanks to world protests, had his death sentence commuted; but despite his state of health he has been sentenced to 30 years in Burgos jail, which means a slow death worse than shooting. . . .

"Jose Luiz Fernandez Albert, a Republican naval officer, whose death sentence was commuted, has been in solitary confinement since 1947 in Carabanchel jail, locked in his cell for 22 hours a day. He has to a great extent lost his sight and is seriously ill with liver and stomach complaints. Sebastian Zapirain and Jose Satue are in solitary. In Ocana jail, Telesforo Torres and 33 others were recently condemned to monstrous terms for their peace activities. In Madrid, 15 trade unionists have been condemned to terms up to 15 years; one, Pedro Torremocha Avila, is over 70. . . . Lying seriously ill in Segovia jail is the Catalan woman worker Soledad Real, sentenced in 1940 to 30 years for organizing relief for prisoners."

LISTEN, WORLD: New proof of the value of foreign intervention was given when British Labour MP Mark Hewitson went to Spain last October to inquire about 19 Freemasons jailed for over two years without trial or lawyer. After his visit, 18 of them were suddenly released. The elderly mother of one political prisoner—Jose Maria Sandros, arrested in Barcelona in 1949 with 37 others for trying to reorganize the United Socialist Youth of Catalonia, re-arrested after three years' confinement and still in jail—sent this appeal to the world through Hewitson:

"I write in the names of many mothers, wives and children who are in the same desperate situation, having their sons, husbands and parents imprisoned for many years without even being brought to trial and serving barbarous sentences. They did not commit any crimes; all they did was denounce the misery and poverty in which their families lived—a misery unmitigated by any hopes of betterment. . . .

"The son on whom I counted to help me is now condemned to 27 years in prison, and with him are many other sons and fathers who were the principal support of their families.

"Allow me to address myself to your hearts and to the kindness which I know resides in the hearts of all mothers. Please help us."

The Spaniards asked for individual and organization protests to Spanish Embassies the world over and to Gen. Franco, Madrid, Spain.

Progress report on our allies

"After 15 months in office . . . despite hard work by [President] Magsaysay, no significant improvement in conditions here has been noted. There is still unemployment. There is still great disparity between the wealth of the large landowners and the almost feudal peonage of the bulk of the farm population, who serve the absentee landlords as tenant farmers. . . . There is still corruption. There is still injustice. The Government is still unable to collect income and real estate taxes efficiently. . . .

"U.S. observers say [Magsaysay] has a tendency to listen to anyone's advice, and then be most influenced by the last man who had his ear. But those close to Mr. Magsaysay feel he will eventually succeed in defeating corruption here and raising living standards. . . ."

—Report on the Philippines from Manila, N.Y. Times, 3/15.

'The Case of the Stubborn Editor'

HAMBURG, GERMANY

My sincerest thanks for the copy of your excellent pamphlet. Its contents are a revelation but, after all, it does not surprise us in Germany to see the far-reaching results of the adopted master-race method. It seems that Americans have forgotten that Hitler's first drive for the establishment of his slave-state was directed against freedom of the press, and that he did not rest until every opposition paper was suppressed and finally destroyed.

In fact, Hitler's drive was so effective in Germany that ten years after the most murderous war in history we still wait for the reappearance of a really democratic press. The silence of those who want freedom of the press to be part of the liberation from totalitarian maniacs is now the silence of fear: the same fear which made it possible for totalitarian Heilbringers to establish Murder, Inc.

Dr. Oscar C. Pfaus

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BOOKS

Lamont's work on Soviets up to date

On April 11 the Philosophical Library (15 E. 40th St., N. Y. C. 16) publishes an enlarged edition of Corliss Lamont's "Soviet Civilization" ($5) first published in 1952. Liberty Book Club (100 W. 23d St., N. Y. C. 11) has chosen Dr. Lamont's book as its March selection. (See advertisement, p. 8.) The new edition contains an introduction by James Aronson, GUARDIAN executive editor. A section of the introduction follows:

AN INDIVIDUAL with vision today will easily diagnose the smog of misinformation, delusion and hypocrisy which hangs over the land. Some will rest on the diagnosis and turn away; others will seek a cure. They will say: "Co-existence, yes; but how is it to be achieved until we reach the minds and hearts of America with the facts? How can we make them aware of what they will be co-existing with? Co-existence with a bogey is impossible, and for most of America today the Soviet Union is a bogey."

Such a man of vision is Corliss Lamont. Not only has he asked the questions but he has spent a good portion of his adult life seeking the answers. Being a man of logic and direction, he has gone to the source. Twice he visited the Soviet Union. A third visit was barred by the State Dept. as not in the "best interests" of the United States.

In a career devoted to the furtherance of the philosophy of Humanism and the preservation of the Bill of Rights, Dr. Lamont has found time to lecture, pamphleteer, and write books on sanity in foreign affairs. This, he believes, is the surest way of letting the people know, however slow and tedious may be the process.

He wrote **The Peoples of the Soviet Union** (1946) and then,

Drawing by Dyad, London
"If you get caught, don't forget—you're visiting."

in 1952, completed the first edition of this book. It is a book for smog-bound Americans about the Soviet Union and what makes it tick: the government, the people, the constitution and the culture, its attitudes toward religion, the rights of man, and foreign affairs. This is Dr. Lamont's major work on the Soviet Union and, as all the things he has done, it is a work of simplicity and honesty.

Many things in the Soviet Union, Dr. Lamont finds commendable; other things he criticizes sharply — especially the attitudes toward civil liberties, as he sees them, and aspects of foreign relations. The book will displease the inflexible on both sides of the political centerpiece; it will be read with gratification by all who are watching and studying the changes now taking place in the Soviet Union in a changing world.

AFRICA: THE GIANT STIRS — VII

The Belgian Congo: copper cauldron

By W. E. B. DuBois

THE great Congo River, third longest in the world, curls around the center of Africa where in the past extraordinary human development in handicraft and political organization has taken place. A kingdom of Congo had existed for centuries when the Portugese arrived in the 15th century. They induced the Mfumu or king to accept Christianity, and his son was educated in Portugal. One of his successors traveled in Europe in 1600. In intricate political organization and weaving of velvets, satins and damasks the Congolese became noted.

Then came centuries of invasion from west and northeast, and finally this valley fell into the claws of Leopold II of Belgium, with Stanley as his press agent. The two inveigled the Congress of Berlin to let Leopold hold the Congo as a sort of great Christian enterprise where "Peace and Religion" would march hand in hand.

The result in theft and sheer cruelty astounded even Europe, more especially as both France and Germany, and Britain hiding behind Portugal, stood ready to show Belgium how and were at the time content with cutting off the coastline. But the Belgian state took over, staggering under this colony 14 times the size of Belgium itself and with many more inhabitants.

HEEDED WARNINGS: Belgium was at that time under socialist leadership, but that did not curb colonial imperialism. First Belgium confiscated all native rights to land ownership. Then they subsidized all chiefs and put labor under vast corporations in which Britain and America invested. They curbed education to elementary instruction under Catholics, with a few exceptions. They gave the natives training in skills of a higher grade than in South Africa or the Rhodesias, but kept wages low and did not give enough education to permit training even for physicians; and for a long time they refused to let Negroes enter Belgian higher schools at home.

Then came centuries of invasion from west and north-demands in Brussels at the Second Pan-African Congress. Immediately black students who were not too radical began to be received in Belgian schools. An official report says in 1954:

> "In 1947 a school for administrative and commercial training was opened. In the same year the Centre Universitaire Congolais Lovanium was organized with the intention to group the existing schools together and lay the foundations for an institute of higher education."

THE BIG MONEY: Meantime the Belgian Congo had become a center of vast investment and profit. The colony raised palm oil and palm nuts, cotton, coffee, rubber, cocoa and ivory. It became one of the greatest copper-producing countries in the world. Also gold, tin, cobalt and silver were exported. It became the largest producer of industrial diamonds, and nearly 60% of the world supply of uranium ore was produced and now goes chiefly to the U.S.

There has arisen bitter strife in the copper mines, with the natives organizing a union and seeking higher wages. There is one Negro newspaper representing the intelligentsia but influenced or actually subsidized by the Belgian masters. Perhaps more than in any other African colony the Belgians are making desperate effort to see that no organized opposition to their ownership of the Congo develops among educated Negroes. Colored West Indian clerks have long been hired, and propaganda against Negro organization is carefully spread. Indeed, as the Council on African

PIERRE RYCKMANS
To be all alone is an awful thing

Affairs says:

> "The Belgian delegate will support his contention by citing the fact that in 1953 the Belgian Chamber of Representatives approved a revision of Article I, Paragraph 4 of the Belgian Constitution to make it clear that Belgium and the Congo together form a single sovereign state. . . .
>
> "Belgian officials have for some time been exasperated by what they regard as the over-zealous concern of the UN for the welfare of the Congolese. The British and French have, of course, also squirmed when their colonial policies were under review, but the Belgian representative, M. Pierre Ryckmans, has been particularly perverse in rejecting any and all UN efforts toward the political and social advancement of colonial peoples, sometimes casting the lone negative vote on such issues. That is why we say—do not be surprised if Belgium employs the above-mentioned technical excuse to try to end, once and for all, UN 'meddling' with the Congo."

HARMONY, PLEASE: The present Belgian Minister of Colonies puts the matter as follows:

> "On a political and administrative plane, it is necessary to create the psychological conditions for harmonious co-existence and peaceful collaboration between natives and whites. With the birth of a true native middle-class—with interests common to those of the whites—these conditions tend to become closer and closer."

So save in the copper-mine unions, rebellion in the Congo has not yet developed. It is still possible, and if black French Africa bordering on the Congo for 1,600 miles goes socialist, as it may; and if Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika to the east continue to surge with protest as they do now, the Belgian Congo may yet join the ideology of Black West Africa.

Next week: Kenya—the war that can't be won.

A BASIC BOOK

On the power of business

Corporate organization pocketed production; its giant offspring is pocketing the nation, including the entire lives of its citizens. And organized business is extending this anti-democratic web of power in the name of the people's own values, with billboards proclaiming "What's Good for Industry Is Good for Your Family," and deftly selling itself to a harassed people as "trustees," "guardians," "the people's managers" of the public interest.

Both during the war and after, the issue is identical: Who controls, and to what ends?

—Robert S. Lynd, preface to **Business as a System of Power.**

FROM 1934 until the middle of World War II a penetrating study of "who controls," of "the rise of bureaucratic centralism," was made by Prof. Robert A. Brady of the University of California. The study covered the rise of business and manufacturers' organizations—and what it led to—in Japan, Germany, Italy and Vichy France, and compared the experiences of those countries with similar trends in Britain and the U.S. Brady's work was subsidized by the Carnegie Corp. and a grant from the publishers, Columbia University Press.

Business as a System of Power, a basic book for serious readers and thinkers, has just been re-issued by the Kelmscott Editions (251 4th Av., N.Y.C. 10), a new enterprise "to rescue the illuminating, the challenging and the unusual books from oblivion or neglect." Kelmscott is not a book club but sells books to subscribers on an individual basis at low prices (Brady's book list price, $3.75; Kelmscott price, $2.50 ppd.) Next Kelmscott selection will be **Books That Changed Our Minds,** edited by Malcolm Cowley and Bernard Smith.

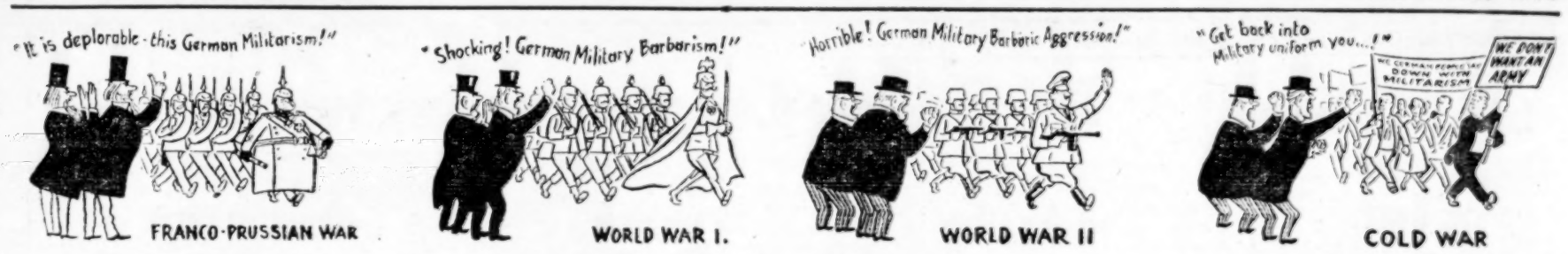
C. B.

Walter White dies at 61

WALTER WHITE, 61, died of a heart attack last week in his New York home. The Atlanta-born, blue-eyed, fair-skinned exec. secy. of the NAACP (since 1931)—whom the N.Y. **Times** described as "5/32nds," the **Herald Tribune** as "1/64th" Negro—had always identified himself with Negro Americans' struggle for civil rights. He became assistant to NAACP exec. secy. James Weldon Johnson in 1918, nine years after W. E. B. DuBois and associates from the "Niagara Movement"—a revolt from Booker T. Washington's "compromise" on the Negro question—founded the Association.

Traveling as a white man, White penetrated many demonstrations of violence against Negroes in the deep South. Results appeared in his novels **Fire in the Flint** (1924) and **Flight** (1926) and in **Rope and Faggot—A Biography of Judge Lynch** (1929). The NAACP under his leadership forced Southern tax-supported graduate and professional schools to admit Negroes; opened full-scale attack on jimcrow public schools, resulting in last May's Supreme Court decision; acted successfully against segregation in the armed services; was instrumental in expanding Negroes' right to vote in the South, to occupy their own or leased property without any governmental agency's interference, and to ride unsegregated between states on public carriers. It advised President Roosevelt in writing his executive order creating a Fair Employment Practice Committee during World War II; has helped passage of FEPC laws in ten states.

Though White's attack on U.S. mistreatment of Negroes at home and imperialist actions abroad stemmed largely from his proposition that they "play into the hands of the Russians," he cited the Civil Rights Congress' **We Charge Genocide** as "a most damning indictment which comes with spectacular timing on the heels of the Cicero riots."


"It is deplorable - this German Militarism!"
FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR
"Shocking! German Military Barbarism!"
WORLD WAR I.
"Horrible! German Military Barbaric Aggression!"
WORLD WAR II
"Get back into Military uniform you....!"
WE DON'T WANT AN ARMY
COLD WAR

The politicians and Germany

Drawing by Gabriel, London

NO. 1 JOB: UNIONS MUST ORGANIZE POLITICALLY

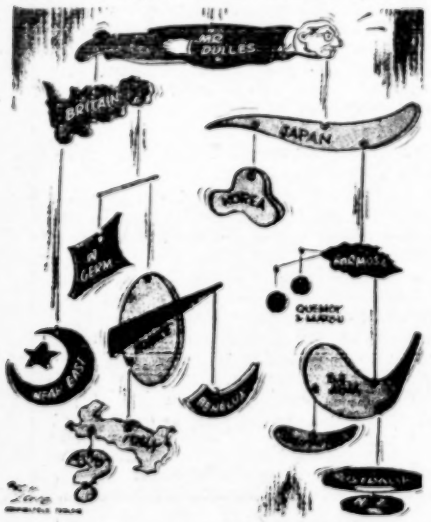
American labor and the cold war

By Tabitha Petran

THE AFL and CIO recently outlined the joint position their representatives will take at the Intl. Confedn. of Free Trade Unions Congress in Vienna, May 20. It named communism the "most dangerous enemy of labor"; opposed any "compromise at home or abroad with [this] conspiracy" and any reduction in U.S. war spending; and promised "liberation" to the socialist world. In sum, AFL and CIO leaders gave all-out support to Washington's foreign policy.

As earlier articles in this series have shown, this policy is designed to exact tribute from, and block progress in, the rest of the capitalist world—and to force back into the system of tribute those peoples who have freed themselves from it.

THE TWO TECHNIQUES: Labor's relatively high living standard in the U.S. —highest in the capitalist world—stems in part from the fact that it shares (though to a limited extent) in the fruits of big business' tribute system.



Minneapolis Tribune

MODERN MOBILE

Huge cold-war profits have permitted American economic royalists to avoid some of the pressures on American labor to which they might otherwise have resorted.

The royalists used a familiar strategy to win labor support for their policy of tribute and war. Capitalists have always had two methods of ruling, sometimes alternating, sometimes interwoven: 1) force, no concessions, no reform; and 2) "liberalism," small or apparent concessions or reforms. At bottom, the duality expresses the basic contradiction of their position: capitalism requires for its development a certain minimum of literacy, culture, political rights among the people, who —having achieved this much—inevitably demand more. Hence the method of force alone can never suffice.

THE "NEEDED FRONT": In 1947, sociologist C. W. Mills[1] described the American practitioners of the first method as the "practical conservatives," who represent "pure and simple anti-unionism," aim to "make more money . . . and put down radicals and labor leaders who get in the way." In times of approaching slump and its initial phases "the practical conservative with his policy of busting up labor edges into the foreground, carrying the struggle of the [entire] right against labor."

Hence, the "sophisticated conservatives" (as Mills termed those who use the second method) are able "to keep quiet or even talk liberal." They see "the world and not just some sector of it as an object of profit," and look at unions from a "political," a "manipulative" point of view—as "a stabilizing force . . . a counter against radical movements," which may become "the bulwark of the system they want to preserve." These most powerful of businessmen think, wrote Mills, that:

> ". . . by taking the labor leader as a junior partner and a needed front, they can keep the situation under control . . . [hope] that labor leaders in their fear of the practical right . . . may be ready to accept the lure offered by co-operative big business with its emerging liberal front."

THE LEGAL THREAT: In the past decade U.S. big business has used both methods; but the "sophisticated conservative" strategy has been dominant in both the Truman and Eisenhower administrations. Taft-Hartley and the McCarran and Communist Control Acts were held as a threat over the labor movement. But these laws were largely unused except against the most militant—those who refused to confine their struggles to narrow economic interests and support the tribute system.

And the biggest monopolies (monopoly's stranglehold is tightest in extractive industries and in metal refining and manufacture), confronted by the strong mass-production unions, followed generally a policy of going along with their demands for wage increases. These were relatively small but enough to satisfy the labor leadership. From 1945 to 1953 hourly wage increases totaled $1.10 in oil; 87c in steel; 85.5c in copper mining; 82c in electrical equipment; 81c in auto. (In less monopolized industries, where unions were not as strong, the increases were much smaller and recently replaced by cuts.)

SELF-DEFEATING POLICY: From the viewpoint of big business, these wage increases and other advances won by unions were a small price to pay for the weakening of class antagonisms at home, and for the winning of "national unity" behind their policy of tribute—the cold war. But for labor the policy is self-defeating, even in terms of the narrow economic goals it has set itself, since it is part and parcel of the maturing economic crisis. These are the reasons why:

First, while the cold-war program for a time provided nearly full employment, even at the huge current rate of war spending ($40.6 billion in fiscal 1955) it no longer does so. Employment declined from 62.8 million in Feb. 1953 to 59.9 million in Feb. 1955—when the unemployed numbered 4.3 million.[2] This at a time when the military program gave direct employment to almost 7 million workers and another 3.3 million were in the armed forces.

Huge military spending cannot be continued indefinitely—or much expanded—without more war crises, with growing danger of explosion. **Business Week** (12/9/50) pointed out:

> "Pretty much everyone liked the economic consequences of the 10% [Korea] war. Business found profits bigger than ever; workers found wage increases easily forthcoming; employment was high; farmers prospered."

Three million people—all but a few hundred thousand were Koreans and Chinese—were killed to achieve this prosperity. Another war could mean annihilation for Americans, too. If there is no war, military spending will probably be cut and the resulting slump will be more intense than if this war program had never been tried.

THE GROWING OCTOPUS: Second, the cold-war program has enormously strengthened monopoly's grip on the economy and given it virtually complete control of the state. Monopoly control means maximum profits. The profit rate for the biggest corporations (assets of $100 million or more) reached 36.8% in 1950's 4th quarter, has remained above 20% ever since.[3] Maximizing of profits creates greater imbalance between production and consumption, means a sharper, more prolonged depression. The grip of monopoly also holds back new industries, hence blocks progress. And by restricting the internal markets of other countries U.S. monopoly prevents the development of longer-run trade opportunities.

Monopoly is the chief barrier to expansion of the U.S. internal market. Because of monopoly control the 1929 depression lasted inordinately long. The only expansion of the internal market since then took place as a result of war. There has been no basic realignment of markets since 1929 to support expansion without war expenditures.

WAR AS PUMP-PRIMER: It is significant that all the economic opportunities created by World War II (accumulated savings, deferred demand for housing, etc.) did not produce a rampant prosperity. Already in 1948, only three years after the war, and even with the Marshall Plan pump-priming and rising arms spending, the economy headed into a downturn—from which it was rescued only by the Korean War.

Economic royalists prefer war spending to welfare spending as a pump-primer because, as **Business Week** explained (2/12/49):

> "Military spending doesn't really alter the structure of the economy. . . . But the kind of welfare and public works spending that Truman plans does alter the economy. . . . It redistributes income . . . changes the whole economic pattern."

LESS TO SPEND: But the foreign-military program tended to restrict rather than expand the internal market. Throughout the greatest boom in history and even at its peak (1953), per capital spendable income was consistently below what it has been in 1944:[4]

1944:	$1,621
1949:	$1,423
1953:	$1,573
1954:	$1,561

The "per capita" includes real estate speculators, dividend owners, corporation heads, etc., whose incomes are soaring—especially as compared to wartime years when some controls existed. The spendable income of the great majority of Americans today is, therefore, even further below the 1944 level than the figures suggest. The net spendable average weekly earnings of a worker with three dependents were $58.59 in 1944; $52.88 in 1949 and $58.20 in 1953.[5]

While the internal market has stagnated throughout the cold-war decade, productive capacity has again greatly increased. Manufacturing capacity is up by ⅔ since 1945.[6] The imbalance of the economy has thus been greatly intensified.

LABOR'S WEAKNESS: American labor is almost totally unprepared for the crisis which is approaching. If it has been strong and privileged enough to withstand normal pressures on its standard of living, it is without class-consciousness, disunited, hence politically weak. Its support of big business policy abroad has increased its dependence on big business at home.

This political weakness and dependence enhances big business' opportunities to "solve" the problems which will be posed by the economic crisis and the utter bankruptcy of its foreign policy by fascism and/or war.

If labor were to examine the nature of economic crisis and understand its inevitability, and if its eyes were opened to what Washington's foreign policy really means, it would develop the kind of program needed to combat these monopoly "solutions" effectively. Such a program is not a matter of a few cents an hour but of a public policy that only a class-conscious, popular movement can procure.

THE TASK & THE WEAPON: Any examination of the nature of crisis would show that it cannot be averted by pump-priming. To replace military spending of $40 to $50 billion a year by welfare spending, for example, is obviously not a matter of pump-priming but would involve the kind of control of investment, planning and programming throughout the economy that only popular control of the government could supply.

If these issues are examined, the labor movement will be armed with the understanding to see through the ball-passing from "practical" to "sophisticated" conservatives—and to begin its own political organization and action as a class-conscious movement.

1 **New Men of Power.**
2 Equivalent unemployment. Joint Committee of the Economic Report. 3.12.55.
3 Federal Trade Commission. Quarterly Financial Reports. U. S. Manufacturing Corporations.
4 In 1954 prices (adjusted for taxes). President's Economic Report. Jan., 1955.
5 U.S. Dept. of Labor. Monthly Labor Review. Jan., 1955.
6 McGraw-Hill estimates reported by Nail. City Bank Letter. Oct., 1954.

Louisville Courier-Journal

Going round in circles.

We couldn't have said it better

The Manila Pact has three main purposes. First, defense against open armed aggression; second, defense against improvement of economic and social conditions.

—Los Angeles Times, Mar. 9.

"AN OPPRESSION LIKE FRANCO SPAIN COME TO AMERICA"

Eye-witness report: Last days of free Guatemala

Shortly after the fall of the Guatemalan republic last June a young Guatemalan refugee reached the Mexican border. He told his story to his friends and to a tape recorder. Months later the tape was delivered to **Latin America Today.** *It was translated and read on March 18 by actor-producer Elliott Sullivan at LAT's fourth anniversary celebration at the Hotel Woodstock. This is a shortened version.*

IN THE last days of June two bombers came over the capital. At first everyone was panicky because ours is such a peaceful little country.

We Guatemalans are of many different beliefs and many languages, too, including the old Mayan tongues. But all of us, the Confederation of Labor, the farmers' organizations—even people who had opposed the Arbenz government—we all came out in favor of defending our country. We formed into brigades. I was in one made up of workingmen, students, teachers from the university, farmers.

After the first bombing thousands left to join the army. The marketplace, the stores were all closed down. We ate badly for a while.

"WE HAD TO WATCH": There were terrible things happening. I remember a little girl killed by a bomber—though I don't recall her name any longer. We fired back but really we had nothing to defend ourselves with. And we had to watch these bombers coming from a foreign country, dropping bombs on our land—our own land. And—*Carramba!* We could do nothing—absolutely nothing. We did not have a stone to throw back.

On Saturday brigades of volunteers lined up at the military base; a captain took our names and told us: "You will report at eight o'clock Monday morning. You will be taken to the airport and you will go to the front."

At the Youth House they were calling up all the young men—even the boys in the city. There was enthusiasm everywhere. On that last Sunday in June my friend and I and some relatives went to a Chinese restaurant for a little farewell. The proprietor turned on the radio. The announcer said the President was about to speak.

THE TRAITORS: We turned to each other, scarcely guessing what he was going to say. Then President Arbenz told us things were going bad for us, that he was turning the government over to Col. Enrique Diaz. There was consternation everywhere.

We went—my friend and I—to the Military Club. A young lieutenant there was talking. He said that people—people of ill-will—were saying the government was controlled by communists. From all over the hall came cries of "No—no—no."

On Monday airplanes bombed our city for the tenth time. We were used to it. Now there were people taking over everywhere calling themselves anti-communists. But frankly, they were not anti-communists. To put it simply, they were traitors. My friend and I decided we must leave; we decided to go by foot to Mexico, and there tell about this crime of the money and machinery of the United States against Guatemala—against such a little country.

ROOSEVELT HIGHWAY: It was to be a long, hard walk. We wore our oldest clothes and carried our football shoes. We hit the Roosevelt Highway at about eight in the evening, and about six in the morning we came across two trucks on the side of the road filled with people.

Really I don't know how to call these people any longer—convicts, home burners, mercenaries, traitors. Anyway, there they were and one truck was in trouble. They questioned us. We wanted to live. My friend is a mechanic. He worked on their truck—an airline truck put at the disposal of these traitors. They stood around us with machine guns. But just as the trucks started we saw our chance. We ran and ran—and escaped.

At seven, or maybe a little later, we came to Chimaltenango. We were weak and cold. Chimaltenango is an Indian town—very beautiful. The people there were friendly. They fed us warm bread and after we rested we found we could eat.

IN THE HILLS: At night we took to the road again. At about four in the morning we met two brigades of farmers—about 20 men in each—who had organized to fight, to help the army. You know, this was a war between *campesinos* like these on one hand, and on the other, all the weapons, the ammunition, the machinery of the United States, which has so many men who understand machines.

They did not know all that had happened. There was no longer any means of communication. We turned on the radio but there were only little bits of music and bóogy-boogy—nothing else. These *campesinos* gave us food, clothes, matches, cigarettes. I must say that though a cigarette seems such a little thing, it is worth a great deal—and I say this though maybe all the cigarette firms are in Wall St.

There in that town we learned how the feudal-minded people—we called them that — had shot many, many *campesinos* who had only machetes to fight back with. I do not know who they were but only that they were Indians, perhaps Mestizos, and they were shot by some who are called Christians—but I cannot call them that.

THE SAD FACES: We met many people on the road and their faces were so sad. The ones who helped us had faces full of hate for those who had caused the war. But all the faces showed something else. They were suddenly suspicious of everyone, so fearful, so sad.

We came to a little town called Patzun. Earlier, along the main street—the only one that is paved—some people had been drinking; they had toasted Guatemala and the land reform. They had been reported to headquarters at Chimaltenango, arrested and instantly shot.

In another town, the headquarters of the United Fruit Company, the traitors captured all the leaders of the United Fruit union who had led the big strike there. They were lined up at the main gate of the cemetery, and every one was killed. They threw grenades at their chests.

GOD & THE U. S.: As we traveled on we saw newspapers from the capital. We learned that my uncle, the boss I worked for—all were in jail. There was a new government, ruling by the grace of the United States and God. We walked on past places that were so pretty with marimba music playing and women with their families walking in the park. But really there was sadness everywhere.

We came to Atitlan. I cannot tell you how beautiful it is with its great volcanoes. You know, I had never had a chance to see my country before. I worked and there was no money for travel. And now I saw for the first time how beautiful my country is.

We walked past Totonicapan, Solola to Quetzaltenango, high in the mountains and very cold. There are lovely parks there, but walking in them were only the police and these people who even look evil. I guess we thought our faces would give us away because we look like good people—and so we did not stay in the city. We passed through many road blocks, past many, many trucks filled with prisoners. We saw them being beaten by their guards. Of course we had to answer many questions—but really we are more intelligent than they are, I think, and we gave the right answers.

"ORDERS FROM STALIN": When we came to San Marcos, very high in the mountains and only 200 kilometers from the Pacific, we were very weak. We had not had enough food to eat. San Marcos is very pretty too. We sat down and had some *aguardiente* (liquor). It was our last town before Malacatan on the Mexican border. We were terribly tired, we drank and we got careless. We decided to risk taking a bus to Malacatan.

The rain came down in torrents and our bus had to stop because up ahead two trucks were stuck in the mud. Each one was filled with about 45 prisoners. They were farmers. Some had their wives with them. They had no covering in that torrential downpour. They were huddled together like dogs. They had been beaten by their guards.

The chief, in charge of the punitive expedition that had arrested these people, came aboard the bus while soldiers tried to get the trucks out of the mud. He raved about the prisoners, talked about those who took orders from Stalin and lies, lies, lies. It reminded us of films we had seen of Jews loaded on trucks on their way to the crematorium. On our walk we saw not one or two truckloads but many, many.

THE LAST MILE: They pulled the trucks out in about an hour and three quarters. The bus went on to Malacatan. It is a hot place with some stores, some cantinas, picturesque—but we had no eye for the picturesque then. We had to get out and line up in front of the police station, to have our papers checked by the traitors. We were badly scared.

But I tell you, love of life is a great thing. Before it was our turn we broke from the group, and we ran and ran.

We ran through banana plantations, mango and orange groves. It was six when we came to Malacatan and we did not stop running until it was seven. We were deeply, deeply tired. We lay down. We had nothing left, no food, no cigarettes, nothing.

ACROSS THE RIVER: At ten o'clock at night we started out again. We were very much afraid. We listened for the river. At four in the morning we came to the river and found a point where we could cross it. We tied our clothes and our shoes with our belts and put the bundle on our heads. Then, each holding it there with his left hand, we entered the river. It is an ugly river, full of stones, with strong currents.

At midstream the water was over our heads. We tried to swim and hold on to our clothes, too, but the swift currents ripped everything from us. Naked and weak as shipwrecked sailors we came to the other side of the river. We were in Mexico.

Ah, that was a beautiful beach with trees all around.

A Mexican farmer saw us as we came ashore. He gave us clothes and food and warmth. We laughed, sang, called to each other: "*Ay, amigo, compañero*—congratulations." But really we felt joy, sadness, pain, anguish—every sentiment that is human.

"I AM OPTIMISTIC": I did not want to tell you so much of our adventures but to say only this: that though in our country there are no unions and no meetings are permitted, though there is an incredible oppression like Franco Spain come to America—still the cause of Guatemala is not lost.

What meant so much to us in the days of the invasion was the solidarity we felt in other countries—the demonstrations of students in Mexico and Chile, the telegrams and letters from the United States. It is most important for the people of Guatemala to know that the people of the United States—the same country from which the United Fruit Company comes—are with the Guatemalans. For those in prison and those who each night must go to bed in fear—only the world's solidarity can restore their peace.

I am optimistic for democracy in Guatemala, in America, in the world.

DULLES WELCOMES AN ALLY INTO THE FREE WORLD
A section of Diego Rivera's mural on the rape of Guatemala

U. S. vs. UMT

"The Army wants conscription because it is the nature of a military establishment to grasp as much power and size as it can. This is precisely the characteristic that the writers of the Constitution sought to control by hedging the military about with restrictions. It is precisely the characteristic that seeks to avoid those restrictions by extending its influence into every home in the country through peacetime universal military conscription.

"Large armies inevitably discourage freedom and encourage military adventures abroad. One of the major reasons for our non-involvement in Indo-China was Gen. Ridgway's conviction that the Army was not large enough to risk such involvement. Had the Army also had available the proposed 3-million-man Reserve, it is quite possible that President Eisenhower would have yielded to the counsel of the other chiefs of staff, and in doing so involved the country in a major war.

"There is no safety in peacetime conscription, but there is a great deal of danger. It should not be renewed!"

—"Conscription Factfolder No. 1" (35 for $1), National Council Against Conscription, 104 U St. N. E., Washington 2, D. C.

PERJURY ENTRAPMENT CHARGED

Ullmann, facing 6 months for contempt, challenges Brownell's 'immunity' law

FIRST test of the constitutionality of Atty. Gen. Brownell's new immunity law was on its way to the higher courts last week. "Guinea pig" in the case—so described by his attorney—is William Ludwig Ullmann, former New Deal and World War II government official accused by professional witness Elizabeth Bentley as one of a wartime "spy ring."

Ullmann, now 47, entered government service with the NRA in 1935, was transferred to the Treasury in 1939, held important assignments as an Air Force major from 1942 to 1944. In the latter year he became an assistant to Treasury official Harry Dexter White and served as organization manager of the Bretton Woods monetary conference. White was also named by Bentley as an espionage agent; he died of a heart attack while defending himself against the charge.

"ENTRAPMENT": Ullmann in 1947 and 1948 denied all accusations against him, but Brownell made the Bentley spy charges a major Republican campaign issue in 1952—the beginning of the "20 years of treason" slogan. Thereafter Brownell pressed for his immunity law to remove the protection of the Fifth Amendment from witnesses in "security" cases; it was enacted by the 83d Congress last Aug. 20. Under the new statute a witness must answer all questions on a promise that he will not be prosecuted; if he doesn't answer he is automatically jailed for "contempt."

Last December Ullmann again invoked the Fifth Amendment before a grand jury in New York, and Federal Judge Edward Weinfeld granted government attorneys' request for an immunity grant. On March 3, still refusing to answer questions under the Fifth Amendment, Ullmann was sentenced to six months in prison by Federal Judge Thomas F. Murphy. He was released on $3,000 bail pending appeal.

On March 16 Leonard Boudin, attorney for Ullmann, contended before the U.S. Court of Appeals that Congress has no power to amend the Fifth Amendment; he argued that use of the immunity law is "entrapment" because if Ullmann now repeats his denials of 1947 and 1948 he becomes a "natural victim" of a perjury charge. Boudin said the Administration's "stake in this adventure is now so high that it must emerge with at least a perjury indictment." The case is expected eventually to reach the Supreme Court.

Peace petitioners drive for 35,000,000 names

The Peace Petition Committee (RFD 1, Box 414, Battle Creek, Mich.) which was formed at the Michigan Fellowship of Reconciliation's fall conference has set a goal of 35 million signatures. In its final form the petition, containing a "humble appeal for divine guidance," is the work of Dr. Henry Hitt Crane, pastor of Detroit's Central Methodist Church. In announcing the drive the petition's original author, a woman delegate to the Coloma (Mich.) Peace Workshop organized by the American Friends Service Committee, quoted one of the Workshop speakers:

"If you know that in your cellar are 100 pounds of dynamite with a fuse attached of which you do not know the length, but you do know that the other end is lit and burning, is it your first job to see that the beds are made and cupboards filled?"

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APPEAL TO MAYOR

May Day fete barred in N. Y.

THE N. Y. C. Park Dept. last week denied permits to the "Provisional Workers' & People's Committee for May Day, 1955" to hold the traditional rally in Union Square on Saturday, April 30, from 1-6 p.m. The Dept. said it had granted the Square to another organization, unspecified, from 9 a.m.-8 p.m. that day.

The committee appealed to Mayor Wagner to intervene and at least divide the day between the two groups.

Tax relief plan

(Continued from Page 1)

that way for awhile; at one point he told his Republican opponents:

> "I am no shoddy dealer, I am not trying to blackjack anybody, and I am not trying to buy votes—and you who have made these statements will live to regret it."

On Feb. 25 he squeaked his tax bill through the House with a margin of five votes (210 to 205).

MODIFIED BUT MURDERED: But Southern Democrats in the Senate scuttled the Rayburn fight and bailed out the President. Chairman Harry F. Byrd of the Senate Finance Committee and Walter F. George joined with Republicans to kill the Rayburn amendment 9 to 6. On the floor Sen. Lyndon B. Johnson (D-Tex.) offered a modification to give a $20 cut to the head of a household plus a $10 cut for each dependent other than a spouse, and limit the relief to incomes of $5,000 or less a year. In addition, the Johnson plan would have repealed last year's relief to corporation and large earners; removed a 1954 provision permitting corporations fast write-offs for depreciation of equipment; repealed the tax cut on dividend incomes; and plugged a loophole in the 1954 law under which big business stands to gain anywhere from $1 to $5 billion a year.

Johnson supporters estimated that all told, despite the tax cut on low incomes, his plan would have produced a net gain for the government of nearly $5 billion for the fiscal year ending June 1956. But Eisenhower was dead set against this plan; the Administration mustered the strongest pressure it has yet brought to bear against any measure. On March 15 the Senate killed the Johnson plan 50 to 44. The fight was won with the help of five Dixiecrats who voted with the Republicans. The President announced through his press secretary that he "was pleased," promptly called Byrd and George by phone to thank them personaly for leading his fight.

HOT FOR '56: Although all sections of the labor movement were for the tax cut, neither AFL nor CIO did much to stir up back-home action; some observers felt that more vigorous labor support might have tipped the scale.

But Democratic leaders, though conceding defeat by mid-week, were convinced they had a prime 1956 campaign issue in the battle they had waged. And it was certain that a tax cut for low incomes would come before Congress again next year.

Brownell line

(Continued from Page 1)

> judgment of this court, attacking the FBI and the Justice Dept., in a carefully thought-out scheme to generally discredit by these means the testimony of undercover agents and former Communist Party members who give evidence against the Communist Party of the U.S. and its adherents."

"CLEAR CONSCIENCE": Matusow, who announced he would appeal his sentence, was put under $10,000 bond but last week was still in the El Paso county jail for lack of it. Before the sentence was pronounced, Matusow told the court:

> "I was motivated to secure justice for someone I had wrongly accused. I'm prepared to accept the court's decision. I know I'll be able to live with myself, for my conscience is clear. The only conspiracy has been that of me and my conscience. The Bible and the Commandments have taught me a lot. I no longer bear false witness."

In passing sentence, Judge Thomason declared that "the evidence offered in support of the motion [for a new trial for Jencks] is not worthy of belief" and charged that Matusow "schemed to and actually used this court as a forum for the purpose of calling public attention to a book, purportedly written by Matusow, entitled **False Witness.**"

UNION WILL APPEAL: He also charged that Mine, Mill officials had "subsidized" the writing and publication of the book to induce Matusow to change his testimony regarding Jencks and said Matusow had "willfully . . . lent himself to this evil scheme for money and notoriety."

The Mine, Mill union also announced it would appeal the Judge's ruling denying a new trial for Jencks who was convicted with the help of Matusow's testimony on a charge of falsely signing a Taft-Hartley non-Communist affidavit. Nathan Witt, the union's general counsel, said that the only conspiracy in the case is "a conspiracy to prevent the truth from coming out."

N. Y. HEARING ENDS: In New York, a hearing on a motion for a new trial for 13 Communist leaders convicted under the Smith Act, against whom Matusow swore he gave false testimony, came to an end on March 21 after 20 days. Government and defense attorneys were given until March 25 to submit briefs. Last witness was Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam who told how Matusow visited him twice to confess that he had lied throughout his career as a government witness. The Bishop revealed that on Oct. 19, 1954, he wrote a letter to Brownell informing him of Matusow's recantations.

HARRY P. CAIN
This is a time of recanting

Introduced into evidence were notations the Bishop made after his talks with Matusow; one said:

> ". . . I really can't fathom the fellow, but, whatever the facts are, here is an individual whose testimony has been published by the House Committee [on Un-American Activities]."

The Bishop said he considered Matusow "unstable" and had been "surprised" that the government would have used him as a witness. He described his last meeting with him:

> "It all wound up that he wanted $1,500 to do research [on his book]. I was interested in the book, but I was not going to give him $1,500. I thought he was hungry, and I gave him $5."

50,000 COPIES: It was announced last week that **False Witness,** published by Cameron & Kahn, had already sold out a first printing of 50,000 copies and that a second edition is on the presses.

Witnesses were not the only ones turning about last week. Harry P. Cain, former ultra-right-wing Republican Senator from Washington and now a member of the Subversive Activities Control Board, appeared before the Civil Liberties Clearing House. With startling vigor he defended the Fifth Amendment, denounced the Attorney General's list of "subversive" organizations, attacked Sen. McCarthy and declared that the "citizens' informer" system now being built up in defense plants is "not in our nation's best interest."

And Rep. Martin Dies (D-Tex.), granddaddy of all witch-hunters, in an exclusive interview in the N. Y. **Post,** decried the present-day hysteria of the witch-hunt.

•

Vincent Hallinan in person at the Guardian rally, April 20, N. Y. City Center Casino, 8 p.m.

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STILL DANGER

GOP abandons drive to hike rents in city

By Arthur Schutzer

RETREATING from his proposals for rent hikes and decontrols, Republican Assembly majority leader Carlino last week pledged to continue controls "in substantially their present form for two more years" at least in N. Y. City.

The big push of the real estate lobby was repulsed, but the situation was still critical. New, less obvious formulas might yet be slipped into the final bill. Even the continuance of present controls means the preservation of landlord gimmicks, rent boost loop-holes, weak enforcement and numerous evictions on trumped-up grounds.

There was some suspicion that the real estate lobby had staged its big offensive to take the heat off the fight to plug loop-holes in the existing set-up, hoping the tenants, after a look at what might happen, would settle gratefully for another 2 years of the status quo.

PATIENT DOING NICELY: That status quo was doing well for the landlords, although Carlino and other Assemblymen had painted a picture of downtrodden real estate interests. The **Real Estate News** (2/55) admitted: "Excellent realty investment conditions will continue through 1955. New York City continues to be a favored center for investment capital and its real estate continues to enjoy high regard as an attractive and safe investment. The current situation with more buyers and money than offerings will continue throughout 1955."

An article entitled "Boomtown, U. S. A." in the February **Real Estate Forum** says: "New York is the only major city with a demand for office space despite a wave of new construction. These new edifices have been, and are being, fully leased for long-time occupancy without causing any noticeable dent in the occupancy ratio of existing structures. Nothing like it is, has been, or is likely to be happening in any city of metropolitan or other status, of any size, anywhere."

Zero Mostel

In one of his madder moments in the new Barbizon Plaza show, "Once Over Lightly." A skit on Gian-Garlo-Menotti-type opera features the jumbo comedian as a child whose mother consults a psychiatrist to cure him of fits of hysteria brought on by sight of kreplach. Jack Gilford as a "benedictine" monk and Sono Osato interpreting "Peter Pan" in Japanese-style dance are other highlights of the show, which will have a Guardian Benefit night March 31 (see N. Y. Calendar, p. 11).

2,000 at ALP rally for peace

PROF. Frederick L. Schuman of Williams College told 2,000 people at the American Labor Party's "rally for peace" last week that the drive for German rearmament had won little or no support in Germany, France or England but he found "almost all Americans acquiescing with their leaders."

He noted several exceptions and said: "Thank God for the ALP." Sharing the Manhattan Center platform with Schuman were Russ Nixon, legislative representative of the United Electrical Workers, and ALP vice-chairman Mineola Ingersoll. Nuclear physicist Dr. Philip Morrison sent a tape-recorded message in which he warned of damage to "generations yet to come" from the effects of radiation in atomic tests.

STRIKE GOES ON

B'klyn Eagle dead? Guild not so sure

ON THE 47th day of the N. Y. Newspaper Guild (CIO) strike at the Brooklyn **Eagle**, publisher Frank D. Schroth sent a special delivery letter to the Guild: "The consequences of the strike have destroyed the Brooklyn **Eagle** and we do not intend ever to resume publication of the newspaper."

The **Eagle's** fellow newspapers wrote obituaries for the paper, recalling Walt Whitman's days on the staff, and promptly ran Brooklyn editions to pick up the **Eagle's** advertising. Thomas J. Murphy, exec. vice-pres. of the Guild, wrote Schroth that "the Guild has no alternative but to continue its strike action against the Brooklyn **Eagle**."

It was plain the union took Schroth's last word with a grain of salt. The strike bulletin of March 16 said of the publisher's intention to quit: "Statement of an intention always carries with it the right to intend something else later."

SPECULATIONS: Reportedly the **Eagle** has been covered by strike insurance and has therefore suffered no crippling loss from the strike. There was speculation that Schroth might have been in earnest about selling the paper and precipitated the strike to give him the out he needed. Two years ago there was a reported plan to sell the **Eagle** to the N. Y. **Herald Tribune**, which would probably have led to its dissolution as an independently functioning daily and a consequent loss of jobs. At that time Schroth blamed collapse of the negotiations on the Guild's refusal to go along with large-scale firings.

The strike was precipitated this time by the **Eagle's** refusal to grant Guild members the same wage contract accepted by Manhattan dailies. It had met similar demands from mechanical department unions, which nevertheless refused to cross Guild picket lines and thereby shut the paper down.

After Schroth's announcement the Guild said it had received inquiries from four potential buyers of the paper. The **Eagle** refused comment on possible purchasers, took no step legally to offer the paper for sale. To cover all contingencies, the Guild moved to collect severance pay for all employes. The pickets stayed.

'Finian's Rainbow' opening in Chelsea

E. Y. Harburg's 1947 Broadway hit **Finian's Rainbow** will open April 1 in a production of the Hudson Guild's Community Players, with performances Friday and Saturday evenings at the Guild's theater, 436 W. 27th St.

"War Over Formosa" is Yorkville topic

A NATIONALIST Chinese representative, an American correspondent returned from China, a Quaker, and an American professor of Chinese, representing varying viewpoints, will discuss "War Over Formosa: Which Path for America?" at the Yorkville Compass Forum, at 8:30 p.m., Fri., Apr. 1, at Yorkville Temple, 157 E. 86th St.

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NEW YORK CALENDAR

★ WAR OVER FORMOSA? WHICH PATH FOR AMERICA? ★

Friday, April 1 — 8:30
YORKVILLE COMPASS FORUM

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MISS TSENG PAO-SWEN
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JULIAN SCHUMAN
Newspaper & Radio Correspondent; 6 yrs. in China (both regimes); Chicago Sun-Times, ABC Network.

ROBERT W. GILMORE
Head, American Friends Service Comm., N. Y. (Quakers); Formerly at Yale, U. of Pittsburgh, etc.

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Guardian Theater Night. "ONCE OVER LIGHTLY," by IRA WALLACH, RONNIE GRAHAM & MEL BROOKS. Music by ALEC TEMPLETON with SONA OSATO, JACK GILFORD & ZERO MOSTEL. Thurs., March 31. Orch $6.50. Mezz. $5. Call or write: 17 Murray St. WO 4-3960.

CLUB CINEMA (430 Sixth Av.) "LA GRAND ILLUSION," March 26-27. Jean Renoir's masterpiece with Eric Von Stroheim, Pierre Fresnay and Jean Gabin, mercilessly exposing the futility of war. Showings: 8:30 and 10 p.m., Fri., Sat., Sun. Adm: Members, $1; non-members, $1.25. Next week: "MANON."

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promptly
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SUNDAY FORUM, March 27, 8 p.m. "Automation: Menace or Promise?" Machines and Unemployment in the Capitalist Drive for Maximum Profits. With Carl Marzani and Victor Perlo. Jefferson School, 575 6th Av. $1.

VILLAGE ALP invites you to hear Carl Marzani on "Films Today—Why Chaplin and Hollywood Are Incompatible." Thurs., March 31, 8:30 p.m., at 28 Greenwich Av. Admission free.

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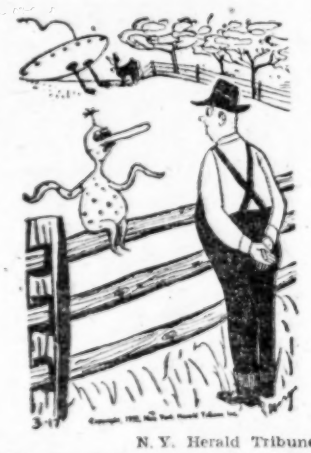

N. Y. Herald Tribune

"So we settled our dispute with a nuclear war and haven't had a planet to land on since."

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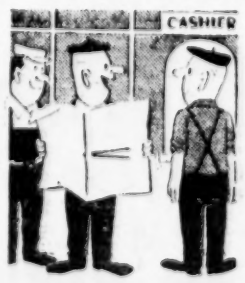

Carrefour, Paris

"I think we'll have a happy surprise at next month's union meeting—the engagement of Princess Margaret."

NEW YORK

Inform-or-else rule in force for teachers

ANY EMPLOYE of the New York Board of Education may now be summoned before the City Corporation Counsel, and told to inform on his fellow employes or on pupils under oath. He faces possible insubordination charges—and loss of job—if he refuses.

The inform-or-else resolution passed the Board by a vote of 7-1 at an open meeting March 17. The crowd of 250 parents and teachers cheered the lone dissenting member, Mrs. Cecile R. Sands of Brooklyn. Another known opponent of the resolution, Charles J. Bensley, was absent. The Rev. John J. Coleman, Brooklyn, voted for the resolution "with a certain anxiety about the danger of injuring the innocent."

California Teacher (AFL)

Through a glass darkly . . .

JANSEN OPPOSED: The measure, which had been backed by the **Tablet**, organ of the Brooklyn Catholic archdiocese, had been opposed by Supt. of Schools Wm. Jansen. On March 13, the Rev. Dr. Leland Henry, director of the Dept. of Social Relations of the Protestant Diocese of N. Y., said in his sermon at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine:

"The Church teaches the supremacy of conscience, but the Board of Education threatens the dismissal of teachers unable on conscientious grounds to inform on others. This proposal smacks of the spirit of the Inquisition rather than of the Bill of Rights."

In the **Day-Jewish Journal** (3/10) columnist B. Z. Goldberg wrote: "What is happening at the Board of Education is of special concern to Jews. The McCarthyism which they want to introduce, forcing every teacher in this city to become an informer, is contrary to the ethics, the conscience and tradition of Judaism."

The N. Y. CIO Council went on record against it and Leon Davis, president of the CIO Retail Drug Employes' Union, wired Mayor Wagner and Board President Charles Silver: "Snitchers, informers and stoolpigeons are as abhorrent to children as they are to adults. Let us maintain some dignity in our school system and respect for the rights and liberties of teachers."

Lined up against the measure were many faculties and parent-teacher associations, the Public Education Assn., United Parents Assn., N. Y. Civil Liberties Union, Teachers Union, AFL N. Y. Teachers Guild, American Jewish Congress, Citizens' Union, Metropolitan Council of B'nai B'rith, Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, Amer. Jewish Congress.

For the resolution: The American Legion of Kings and Queens Counties, N. Y. State Catholic War Veterans, Veterans of Foreign Wars of Brooklyn, Brooklyn Diocese Catholic Lawyers Guild, American Jewish League Against Communism.

DRAGNET: Teachers Union special counsel Harold I. Cammer pointed out the "dragnet characteristics" of the resolution aimed at every teacher who refuses "to disclose any relevant information" about teachers who "may be" or "may have been" members of the Communist Party or "any other subversive" group.

Cammer asked: "Would a teacher be compelled to disclose the names of other teachers who may have supported Republican Spain, or the Trenton Six, or world government, or the Papal Encyclical . . . or the New Deal?"

HOW IT WILL WORK: Seeking to calm the widest and most vigorous opposition since the school witch-hunt began, corporation counsel Saul Moskoff, the Board's chief prober, promised that not all teachers would be called on to inform—only those who admitted present or former membership in the CP or whose membership had been "proven."

Moskoff moved swiftly to implement the resolution by recalling 58 school employes, 40 of whom had refused to testify under oath (now required under threat of insubordination charges) and 18 who testified about themselves but declined to inform on others.

First step, said Moskoff, will be to require each of the 58 to sign an oath covering his previous testimony, making perjury prosecutions possible. Then presumably each will be directed to inform.

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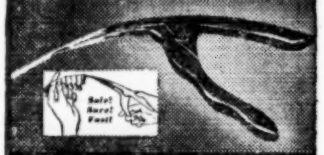

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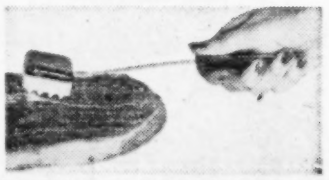

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Roosevelt at Yalta

(Continued from Page 1)

records (by Tabitha Petran and Anna Louise Strong next week). They contain sidelights on the warming-up-the-cold-war role already being played by the then Ambasasdor to Moscow, Harriman, who may come up as Democracy's White Knight to oppose "GOP reaction" in the 1956 Presidential election; and on Alger Hiss, whose "treason"—the foundation-stone of the whole Atom Spy hoax—they blow up with a loud and hilarious bang.

As for the behavior and inter-relations of the three principals, the light the records shed is so dazzlingly clear that to anyone reading them with a pinch of objectivity there is just nothing to argue about.

STALIN'S CONCESSIONS: Winston Churchill, toasting at Yalta the U. S. S. R.'s "happy and smiling future" which Britain "would do all it could to bring about," emerges as the most brilliant hypocrite of our time (though he was almost topped by Massa Jimmy Byrnes, who raised his glass to "the common man all over the world"). Between verbal posies to Stalin, the Russian army and people, Winnie—who as we now know was already plotting to "stockpile" captured German arms for use against them—tried his utmost to tone down the Nazis' punishment and block reparations to the devastated U. S. S. R. His partial success was due only to Stalin's example of moderation in the interests of unity.

The record abundantly justifies Harry Hopkins' memo to FDR at Yalta—and Secy. of State Stettinius' statement later—that Stalin and Molotov had "given in so much at this conference that we should not let them down," had "made more concessions" than either of the Western powers made.

Herblock in Washington Post

"Maybe I shouldn't have pulled the trigger."

The Russians dropped their proposal to promise special support to those who actively fought the fascists in liberated countries. They went out of their way to speak for "the legitimate interests of Turkey" (which sat out the war) in asking some consideration of Soviet right of access through the Dardanelles. They yielded on participation of France in the German occupation. They yielded on immediate admission to UN of Byelorussia and the Ukraine, and promised to support FDR if he had to ask for three U. S. votes in UN to match the U. S. S. R.'s three. They, whose army occupied Poland, accepted Mikolajczyk and other "London Poles" as candidates for the broadened Polish government, although agents of the "London Poles" had killed 212 Soviet soldiers in the rear of the most flaming of battlefronts. At the same time they refrained from asking for any modification of the government of Greece which the British army occupied.

ROOSEVELT'S AIMS: What FDR showed, since even before the conference, was a genuine desire (like Stalin, but unlike Churchill) to make it a three-power meeting and not a gang-up by two against the third. While constantly concerned for U. S. interests and about "keeping Britain from complete bankruptcy" after the war, he was deeply moved by what the Russians had suffered and the heroism with which they had fought the common enemy. He wanted to help the U. S. S. R. with loans and lend-leased ships after the war; and, like Stalin, he wanted justice done—no more, no less—upon the fascists.

He also shared much of Stalin's distaste for imperialism: he reacted jocularly to Churchill's tub-thumping about the Empah, told Stalin China should get Hong Kong, and said he would like to see trusteeships without foreign occupying troops for Indo-China and Korea. In other words, he took the Atlantic Charter seriously.

"HIS OLD SMILE": What Churchill, the last of the great old-style imperialists, could never forgive his socialist ally was that it had not been totally wrecked by the Nazis and had won the war so overwhelmingly. But as a realist, he knew Britain was now a second-class power and all but impotent so long as the U.S. didn't gang up with him. Yalta was, in short, almost the last example of world statesmen talking together on a basis of the facts of life instead of hysteria and humbug. Stalin's realism showed itself in his extraordinary moderation, based on his perception of the compromises without which peaceful co-existence of capitalism and socialism could never be. Churchill's realism showed itself in his estimate of how far Stalin had to be ready to compromise, and of how Britain's lack of power could be compensated by taking advantage of this.

None understood better than FDR the formidable problems with which a peaceful co-existence policy would confront him in Washington; but he was as determined as Stalin was to surmount the problems. His greatness is spread through all these records, compiled largely by Americans not too partial to his philosophy; and—to let FDR's physician contradict Them—at the end of the conference the President was in high spirits and

> ". . . it was with his old smile that he announced, 'I've got everything I came for, and not at too high a price'" (Vice-Adm. Ross T. McIntyre, **White House Physician**).

He had—and what he went for was what America wanted and needed; but two months later, just after writing the greatest of all his speeches on the fight for peace, he was dead. Perhaps by the 20th anniversary of our great President's death, America will again be aware of his stature; but not if Them can help it.

Cedric Belfrage